



OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY

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I. U. L. Now Political Party

New York Platform of the Industrial Union Party

An historic alternative confronts society. The course it chooses will determine whether mankind is to drift into an era of social darkness within which great masses will live in abject slavery under the lash of an industrial tyranny, or emerge into a new social order where the long-heralded rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness may be completely realized.

Society has long been rent by class divisions. Today it is divided into two antagonistic classes. On one hand is the capitalist class, a useless parasitic segment of society which lives on the wealth it expropriates from the other, the only useful and productive class, the working class. This it is enabled to do because of its private ownership of the means of producing the necessities of life, the factories, mines, railroads, etc. By virtue of this ownership it compels the working class to sell its labor power for a starvation wage. It reduces the workers to little above beasts of burden. It deprives them of their rights. It shuts out from them the vast accumulation of social, cultural, and material stores that the past has handed down for the enjoyment of all society.

History has withdrawn its sanction to this state of affairs. Class society, once a means of furthering the progress of mankind, is now a hindrance to social development. Its framework no longer permits the expansion of those economic forces which promise to forever liberate mankind from the fear of want.

The time has come for the establishment of a new system in which there will be no classes, nor the evils that flow from their existence. Such system can be nothing other than a cooperative society, operated and administered by its productive members who will receive the

full social value of what they produce, instead of as under capitalism, only a fraction of the wealth that issues from the industries. The exploitation and robbery of man by man will have been abolished.

History has delegated to the working class the momentous task of accomplishing this revolutionary change. It has pointed out with unmistakable clearness that temporizing with the exploiters can only lead to disaster. It has emphasized that attempts at reform can lead to nothing other than the perpetuation of the very condition which must be destroyed. Only one program can serve the working class. That is the program of REVOLUTION through the united economic and political action of the workers.

The working class must organize on the economic field into revolutionary Socialist Industrial Unions which shall form the might behind their revolutionary demand; which shall conform to the structure and requirements of industry so that they can be projected into the new society prepared to carry on and administer production—become in fact, the new Industrial Republic of Labor, an industrial democracy.

It must organize politically into the revolutionary INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY in order to ultimately capture the political state, and supplant it with the new government of Labor.

The INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY enters the New York City campaign and calls the working class to action. It calls upon them to gather under its banner for the final assault on the citadel of capital. "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain!"

A. F. of L. "ORGANIZES"

The method by which the American Federation of Labor "organizes" the workers is well illustrated by a recent call to the toilers in the "square box branch" of the paper box trade to organize for a strike.

It is stated that the workers in the "round box branch of the industry" recently engaged in a strike, and now it is the turn of those who make the square boxes to follow after them.

This is typical of the A. F. of L. procedure. The workers are split up into countless "unions," so that they are rendered impotent in their struggles with the capitalist class. There would be, if the A. F. of L. method were generally followed, round, square, long, short, high, low, white, black, red, green, yellow, cigarette, candy, hat, shoe, sirt, and countless other types of paper box workers' "unions"—that is, there would be so many if the A. F. of L. were interested in establishing even such hopeless "organizations."

The workers should awaken to their interests and pay special attention to one

WARREN CHARTER UNVEILED

On the evening of June 19th, before a large and enthusiastic audience of members, there took place the unveiling of the charter of Industrial Recruiting Union No. 3 of Warren, Pa.

A cheer arose at the unveiling of this symbol of the economic unity of the workers of the Union, and it was followed shortly afterward by a vote of thanks to the two members, Oscar Anderson and B. Peterson, who had united their skill and craftsmanship in making the charter.

A discussion followed during which the questions of "Inflation," "Are the capitalists necessary to industry?" and "Industrial Unionism" were taken up and explained to the satisfaction of all those present.

Refreshments were then served. Everyone left in an enthusiastic frame of mind, with the firm resolve to make the organization and emancipation of the workers an early reality.

job. They should organize a special Pine Box Workers Union for the sole purpose of burying the A. F. of L.

Promise of More Effective Work for Revolution Brings Change

Confident that the step would lead to more effective work in spreading the revolutionary principles of Socialism, the membership of the Industrial Union League, through referendum vote, enthusiastically came out in favor of the proposition that the organization declare itself a political party.

The organization machinery was immediately started into motion. On July 7th, the branches of New York City met in convention at Branch Bronx headquarters at 1032 Prospect Ave. and under the banner of the new designation, the INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY, proceeded to adopt a program and make up a slate of candidates for the offices to be filled in the approaching municipal elections.

The meeting was called to order by Comrade Sam Brandon, Secretary to the Executive Committee. The hall was by this time filled to capacity. Comrade Brandon briefly explained the purpose of the gathering and called for the nomination of a chairman.

Comrade C. Neuschotz was elected Chairman of the Convention and after the election of Bernard Mason as Recording Secretary, and Frank Fay, as Sergeant-at-arms, the attention of those present was turned to the business of the evening.

A Committee on Platform and Resolutions, consisting of A. Person, I. Oring, and C. Neuschotz, and a Campaign Committee which included M. Hyman, Louis Lazarowitz, A. Levine, Max Mason, and I. H. Weisberger, were elected.

Following a recess, the Committee on Platform and Resolutions brought in a platform which was adopted with minor changes. (The platform appears elsewhere in this edition.)

The following ticket was then elected to represent the INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY in the coming city elections:

For Mayor: Adolph Silver
Comptroller: Irving Oring
President of the Board of Aldermen: Sam Brandon

Comrade Brandon, candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen, rose to the first speech of acceptance. He called attention to the alternative which the newly-adopted platform of the party had placed before the workers: either to drift into a period of misery and degradation never before witnessed by the human race, or to unite, sweep away the death-dealing capitalist system, and establish a system whereby every able-bodied member of the community would have the opportunity to work and supply himself and his family with their share of the abundance now obtainable from the resources and means of production of this country.

The I.U.P. candidate for Comptroller, Irving Oring, dwelt on the pitiable condition of the working class, in his address of acceptance. The striking contrast illustrated by a starving, unemployed, working class on one hand, and a tremendous fruitfulness of production on the other, makes it clear that the present system can bring nothing but harm to the workers, he said. He pointed to the gigantic and prolonged task that confronts the revolutionary work-

ers in their efforts to educate and organize the still slumbering working class. He called upon all those who are conscious of these great needs to assist in spreading the principles of De Leonism by joining the INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY.

Adolph Silver, INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY candidate for Mayor of New York, welcomed the step of entering the political campaign, and expressed the conviction that new avenues for propaganda of revolutionary principles had thereby been opened. He pointed out that the ballot itself is not of great importance to the working class, but that the excuse it gives for a campaign of education and organization is of the utmost value to the progress of the workers and society.

Unlike the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, which also claim to represent the interests of the working class, the INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY does not use the campaign to catch votes by pandering to the wrong notions or prejudices of the workers. The results of the policies of those two bogus working class organizations can be seen in Germany, where despite their combined vote of many millions, a Hitler could come into power and crush them as though they were flies.

The test of a true working class political party in this country is its educational and organizational work for Industrial Unionism, as formulated by Daniel DeLeon. No revolution can be accomplished, no new social system can be established, unless the workers are organized politically and industrially.

Comrade Silver said that it is the custom for a Mayor to hand out jobs after he is elected. He, however, was about to break an old custom, by giving out jobs before he was elected. The jobs that he wanted to allot were those that would build up the only movement that can aid the workers in emancipating themselves from wage slavery. The INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY, is very active, he said. It is doing more constructive work than any other organization of its size in the country, but there is still much more that can be done, and those who are acquainted with scientific Socialism would also put their shoulders to the wheel, the movement would proceed as in seven league boots. He thereupon invited anyone present, who felt himself qualified to join the INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY, to sign an application form and throw himself into our all-important labors. Three among the audience, immediately responded to his call.

Comrade Silver then remarked on the fact that the position of the INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY is inimical to the capitalist class. The latter cannot be expected to pay for the great quantity of literature, and other essentials of a political campaign. It is up to the working class to support, to the full extent of its ability, the organization which furthers its interests. Pledges to the Campaign Fund were called for, and the audience wrote itself down for \$126, contributing \$17 of it at once.

After a number of speeches by several members of the INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY, the convention adjourned.

To a Die-Hard Technocrat

Dear Sir:

It appears strange that at this late date, after the many able exposures of the fallacious theories of Technocracy you should still be a supporter of that exploded plan. Because the subject still offers splendid educational opportunities, I take the time to reply.

Perusal of an article in the February "Technocracy Review" by Mr. Howard Scott, leader of the Technocracy group, reveals that this is no easy task. Abstruse phraseology and vagaries of expression provide obstructions to a certainty of full understanding of the implications in his sentences. It is true that the establishment of a new article demands new and adequate terms of expression, but the "Technocrats" who claim no original contribution, resort to misleading modes of expression, suggestive of intellectual snobishness, to explain what they wish known.

Science requires accurate thinking and expression. Vagueness leads to suspicions that an attempt is being made to mislead or that the ideas being conveyed are themselves encircled by mists of doubt or incorrectness. Fortunately, it appears that only the latter can be charged against "Technocracy."

It is hardly necessary to take up all Mr. Scott's ideas in order to form an adult opinion. Just a few will provide a means of judging whether the others warrant serious consideration. Nor is there any need to continue on into an investigation into his suggested social Utopia, for if his fundamental conceptions are wrong, the superstructure erected upon them must inevitably be a house of cards.

"Value is defined by the economists as the measure of the force of desire"

says Mr. Scott, and he accepts this definition.

This can mean nothing else than that value is determined by the law of supply and demand—an unscientific position overturned long ago.

What is the value of a commodity?

The owner of a chair enters the market place and begins to negotiate an exchange with the owner of a book. Each of the commodities has an entirely different form, each a different color, each a different purpose. Obviously there can be no exchange on the basis of the physical characteristics of the commodities, for they differ so widely.

Yet there is something in each article which does make the exchange possible on a purely quantitative basis, and that is the knowledge that they are both the products of human labor power exercised over a period of time. Thus the chair may represent eight hours of socially necessary labor time, as much may be crystallized in the book. The two are then exchanged for one another as equal values. If in the judgment of the traders, the chair contains more labor than the book, something will be added by the owner of the book to make up the difference.

The deal may involve the use of money as a medium of exchange, but money being likewise a commodity, or in the case of paper money, the symbol of a commodity held in reserve, the essential fact remains that the exchange has been of one value for another, even though a third commodity intervene.

The law of value is not newly-discovered. As far back as 1721 Benjamin Franklin, in his "Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency" recognized that commodities exchange on the basis of the amount of labor time crystallized in them. In another work he says, "Trade in general being nothing else but the exchange of labor for labor, the value of all things is . . . most justly measured by labor."

In 1740, an anonymous author wrote, "The value of them (the necessities of life) when they are exchanged the one for the other, is regulated by the quantity of labor necessarily required, and commonly taken in producing them."

The law that these observers dimly perceived was developed to clarity and definitely established by the economists of that period, Petty, Smith, Ricardo and Marx.

Mr. Scott's statement flies in the face of this law. It rejects, by implication, the possibility of measuring value, and indicates similarly that a commodity may have many values, each determined by accident—by the momentary states of mind existing in buyer and seller when they negotiate.

If we are to accept Mr. Scott's thesis that

supply and demand determine value, what answer can he make to the question as to what value a commodity has if supply and demand happen to be equal and thereby cancel one another? Would the commodity then have no value whatever? We have the situation in this country where the locomotive manufacturers, in the year 1932, received an order for only one locomotive. This locomotive was produced as ordered. Production was perfectly attuned to demand, for only the ordered locomotive was turned out. According to a logical interpretation of the formula advanced by Mr. Scott, this commodity would have no value.

The validity of the supply and demand argument is determinable from another angle.

We know that the steel industry produces virtually only that quantity of steel which is ordered. As with the locomotive, supply and demand are equal. If we assume an exchange were to be arranged of the total product of the steel industry for the total product of the locomotive manufacturers, we should be compelled, by the Technocratic measure, to exchange one locomotive for the entire year's production of steel—because the relations of supply and demand were the same in each industry. We would have to invoke the axiom that "things equal to the same thing are equal to each other."

Viewed mathematically: if the year's steel production represented 100 hours of labor and the locomotive represented one hour, it would be necessary to exchange 100 for one in order to carry out a deal on the basis of a supply and demand determinant. Truly an economic absurdity!

The law of value—that the amount of socially necessary labor embodied in a commodity sets its value—is to economics what the law of gravity is to physics. Abnormal conditions often seem to indicate that a law does not exist. Thus, when an object falls it takes a direction toward the center of the earth. A gust of wind may bend it from a straight course and give to the phenomena the appearance of chance instead of law, yet it is known that the compelling force of gravity exists and that the object will once more turn toward the earth's center.

Supply and demand is the gust of wind to value. It may create temporary fluctuations, but the determining factor eventually make itself manifest through the exertion of its preponderating influence. The fluctuations centering about a given point, value, prove the existence of the determining force or law.

"Under a price-system wealth arises solely through the creation of debts."

Mr. Scott puts the cart before the horse. He has confused cause and effect. It is not debts which create wealth but wealth in circulation under the present system, which creates debts.

What is wealth?

The wealth existing in society today consists of "an immense accumulation of commodities"—articles of use intended for marketing and sale.

A brief historic survey will reveal under what circumstances debt, a money relationship, enters into wealth production. In this survey, it will be necessary to traverse familiar ground, but only that the destined point may be reached.

At one time, exchange was carried on by barter, by the direct transference of articles to new owners. "A," the owner of a lamb, handed the animal over to "B," the owner of grain, and carried the grain back home with him in exchange. This mode of trading could only be used where production was on a small scale and intended for personal use. An occasional surplus was incidental to the main purpose of creating for one's self.

Improved methods and tools ultimately increased production so that a surplus over immediate needs usually resulted and the exchange of objects became more common and widespread. A new problem arose.

Products were as a rule perishable. Methods for preserving them were relatively unknown. It was necessary to make exchanges as soon as possible or the articles would deteriorate and become worthless. An owner was unfortunate indeed if he held something which no one needed at the time, for he was compelled to let it rot or consume it as best he might. If "A" required grain when "B" had no use for a lamb, there would be no trade.

Society eventually found a means of solving this difficulty. Experience taught that the trade could be carried on through the medium of an intervening commodity. By this, "A" could obtain his grain at once, and "B" could hold the medium used until such time as he required a lamb. The intervening commodity must of necessity be durable, portable or divisible. At certain times in history, one or the other quality, and at others, all three were necessary to a medium of exchange. Thus, cattle, land, slaves, silver and gold have served in this capacity, but the latter has finally crowded all others out and today reigns supreme in most advanced countries.

Each step forward brought another vital problem. Though gold became the means of measuring other values, there was no definite means for measuring a quantity of gold. The South American Indian carried his gold in the hollow stem of a feather and exchanged some of it for an article by shaking the precious dust into the palm of his hand. A row would ensue at every exchange. The "seller" usually protested that it was much too vigorous. Ventures into the market places were probably preceded by adequate practice in feinting, shadow-boxing and other exercises. Elsewhere, scales had come into use, but similar quarrels arose over their accuracy. Throughout the world where these indefinite means of determining values existed, uproar and violence inevitably prevailed.

It was not until society reached that stage of development where government, as a general authority existing over people came into being, that the chaos in exchange was eliminated. The government stamped bits of the precious metal with their weights and brought order out of the situation.

Then debt made its appearance. Up to that time, debt was impossible. Under barter, values were exchanged directly. In the period that followed, in which a medium of exchange was used, debt was also impossible, for the medium was itself an article of use and merely deferred the full circuit of exchange to another time. In neither of these periods was debt possible, for no mechanism was present by which debt—the promise to pay at a future time, could be collected. But government provided a social basis for bringing debtor and creditor into being. "A" could not deliver his commodity over to "B" without receiving either an ordinary or a money commodity in exchange. He could permit "B" to pay him some time in the future, for now his pledge of payment became enforceable.

Debt, then, contrary to Mr. Scott's point of view, is born out of the circulation of wealth. Wealth pre-existed debt. It appears again that external appearances have sufficed Technocracy.

"The process of being wealthy is the degradation of the resultants of the above conversions [i.e. use-forms and services] into complete uselessness—in other words, total consumption. To be physically wealthy is not to own a car but to wear it out."

This is a novel theory and it would be interesting to know on what evidence it is founded. What are the facts?

Blank & Company buys a machine for producing shoes. Stored up in the machine is the value that labor time has given it. A workman is set to operating it. Gradually the machine is worn down—the gears lose teeth, the shafts clank in their worn bearings, the pulleys wobble, and finally the "metal corpse" is thrown upon the scrap heap. It has gone through the Technocratically-desired process of being reduced to complete uselessness.

What has become of the "soul" of the corpse—the value which once resided in it. Did it ascend to a Technocratic heaven to lead a technologically angelic existence immersed in Elysian oil wells? Nothing quite so sublime. Like the "Wandering Jew" it was fated for prolonged terrestrial peregrinations.

The process of wearing out the machine was a process of transferring value. The machine, tended by a workman, and operating on raw material fed to it, transferred its value to the shoes that it produced. The machine having cost \$5000, or its equivalent in labor time, and having an average life of 5000 days, gave \$1.00 of its value to the product of each day; and if in each day, it produced ten pairs of shoes, ten cents worth of value was yielded to each pair.

Blank & Company became not one whit wealthier because the machine had been reduced to complete uselessness. They had commenced production with a \$5000 machine and the \$5000 machine had been transformed into part of the value of the

shoes. So far as the machine was concerned no new value had been added.

Nevertheless, new values had accrued.

Bill, the workman who operated the machine, sold his only possession, his power to labor, to Blank & Company. His labor power, a commodity like shoes or machines, also had value. Its value was governed by the same law as that of other commodities—by the amount of socially necessary labor embodied in it.

It takes so much labor to produce the food, clothing and shelter of a workman according to the standards required for efficient production. That amount of labor represents the value of Bill's labor power.

In working at the machine, Bill reproduced the value of his labor power in the early part of the day, and then continued to produce for the rest of the day, the values out of which Blank & Company paid for their raw materials, paid their interest to banks and mortgagees, taxes to the government, and dividends to their stockholders.

Wealth, then, is not a process of wearing down, but is the result of production by human labor power applied to the modern improved tool—the machine.

"National income under the price system consists of the debt claims accruing annually from the certificates of debt already extant."

Evidently Mr. Scott refers to interest due on mortgages, bonds and instruments of a similar nature, as the sole national income.

In holding this view, Technocracy fails to envision the whole process of wealth production. Holding up "debt" before its eyes for investigation, it obliterates the important and essential factors, which, in their ultimate effects, result in debt and payments against debt.

It has been shown, in the consideration of the statement preceding the one now receiving attention, that wealth is the product of human-tended machinery; that from its production, proceeds a surplus over and above the value of the labor power of the worker; and that this surplus forms the fund from which interest and profit are drawn.

National income cannot therefore be regarded as being confined only to the receipt of interest—"debt claims accruing annually"—for part of the national income is made up of the profits which go to the owner of means of production, and another part, of the wages paid to the worker.

It appears that Technocracy has been guilty of a particularly glaring carelessness in this case, for the main constituents of national income are obvious to any man in the street.

The examples cited are only a few out of innumerable errors in the doctrine of Technocracy. No thinking person today, will dispute the statistical findings from which is deduced the approaching end of capitalism. These findings are belated reaffirmations of theorists who, long in the past, foretold the same consequences on the solid groundwork of an understanding of economic forces.

It is only when Mr. Scott suggests a Technocratically-controlled society that the fallacies in economic principles revealed above, call into being the question as to the ability of Technocracy to construct and operate a new order.

Society is an organism. It evolves from one stage of development to the next because of the operation of forces inherent in it. It proceeds with the same dialectical inevitability of change as occurs in natural organisms—as in the development of the seed into the tree, and finally, into the fruit. It periodically gives birth to a new form which matures, and finally dies, only to be succeeded by another which repeats the process.

A knowledge of the economic laws motivating these changes makes it possible to determine the general features of the order about to appear; to construct the agencies that can bring it into existence; and finally to organize the social mechanism by which it may be operated and controlled.

The inadequacy of the Technocrats to do this is manifest by their lack of understanding of the economic laws underlying society. What sort of bridge can be expected from the bridge-builder who has discovered only that the old bridge is about to collapse, but who fails to understand the physical laws that must be taken into account when a new one is to be constructed? Mr. Scott even cites an instance which supports the belief that the future welfare of society rests in other than the hands of engineer technologists.

Turning to Russia he says, "Russia was

(Continued on page 4)

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THE INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT

The intent of the much boosted "Industrial Recovery Act" becomes plainer to an ever-widening circle of intelligent workingmen, as the daily papers describe the activities of capital and "labor" in drawing up and discussing codes by which industry is to be pulled up by its bootstraps and capitalist prosperity returned.

Two major objects are attempted in this Rooseveltian "panacea." The first appears to be an effort to bring order into capitalist production. The old slogan of the golden days of capitalist development, "Competition is the life of trade" has fallen victim to the changed mode of production. It has been superseded by a new frame of mind, by a new slogan, "Cooperation, or death to the capitalist system."

The second objective is to more securely shackle the wage slaves, so that the first objective can be gained.

The attempt to bring order into capitalism is impossible in its present form. But it is possible within certain limitations. It is possible under a condition where just a few—much fewer than obtain at present—control the means of production where the petit bourgeois has been destroyed; and where the aforementioned few can conduct a monopoly economy under which the workers are reduced to a bread and water diet; where the workers can be, without danger of strikes and other industrial disturbances, wantonly exploited to tortuous extremes because of the great reservoir of unemployed and starving masses available for machine fodder.

Can this development in capitalism proceed? It is more than possible. It is already initiated and codified by the "Recovery Act."

The effect on the middle class has already been indicated by the remarks of government officials which have indicated that a licensing system governing business concerns is almost a certainty. The licenses are to be issued only to such firms as can meet the conditions sanctioned by the government. As the government today represents the interests of "big business" it is obvious that the codes will contain provisions which can be met only by those who own the means of MASS production. The others, the small manufacturer and merchant, will fall by the wayside and take their places among the millions moving about in search of work. This method of the capitalists has proved effective on a small scale, and they are doing things in a "bigger and better" way. Thus at one time there have been independent bus and taxi drivers in most of the cities in the country. The more powerful interests would have the industry "regulated" by the local politicians and the result was invariably—no more independents.

Once this condition is realized there will arise a concentrated capitalist power of almost inconceivable proportions. With only the limitations imposed by foreign competition, it will produce, distribute, price, and pay wages, practically to suit itself.

And what about the wage slaves, the workers?

In the scene pictured above it is essential that the slaves be tied up in bunches. Great groups of them must be bound together. A bundle of sticks is easier to handle than many single ones. These slaves will supply labor power at a definite cost. Like so many animals in a stable each will have his fed bag, his blanket, and his bunch of straw upon which to lie. Outside will be

the masses, unemployed, bereaved, discouraged—hopeless.

Even pending such an eventuality, the "organization" of the workers is encouraged by the capitalist class—quite differently from its old antagonistic attitude toward any sort of unity among the workers.

Years ago the worker would arrange to perform a job for an agreed price. The arrangement might hold for a week's work. Then a new price would be set for the next job. With the development of large scale production, contracts were drawn up which specified a certain wage over a period of a year. Mass production has now reached such proportions and ponderance that short periods no longer suffice. Industry is planning much longer in advance. It must be certain of its supplies and their prices for much longer periods. Thus the automobile industry is at present stirring the steel mills into activity by covering its future requirements against expected inflation. It must have its steel, glass, rubber, and other materials far in advance. Just as it buys these commodities—in large quantities, must it buy that other commodity—labor power. And hence capital's sudden interest in the organization of the workers.

The workers would be the veriest idiots to believe that the government would have them organize for their own good. Indeed the code submitted by the cotton industry to Roosevelt's administrators of the Recovery Act, calls for a weekly wage of \$12 for the Southern worker and \$13 for the Northern. It proposes this starvation wage, and wishes to bind the workers to it, in compliance with an Act which has the purpose, among other things, of raising the prices of commodities an anticipated 50%.

In a short time therefore, the following picture would present itself: a great mass of workers, bound hand and foot, by their "collective bargaining," to a certain price for their labor power, while the constantly rising cost of living slowly strangles them. Here then is the principle of the "contract" between capital and labor drawn to its ultimate development—excruciatingly intense exploitation of the workers under conditions of an open alliance between "big business" and the political state.

The latter feature is by no means of minor importance. If commodity prices go up while nominal wages remain fixed, the workers obviously will be compelled to attempt to get an increase which will enable them to buy the necessities of life. But they will have placed themselves in a position akin to that of the postal workers who, if they strike, become immediately guilty of treason against the government. The part that the government is playing under the Recovery Act will, at least, bring the strikers immediately into conflict with the political state—with its militia, its courts, and other instruments of forcible repression.

Viewed from any angle, the Recovery Act is but a legislative recognition of a new epoch in the development of capitalism. It is the reflection of a decaying system under which the more powerful elements of the ruling class are determined to survive in their tyranny regardless of the expense in human lives, in shrunken bodies, in wrecked homes, in wretched misery, starvation and disease, it may thrust upon the helpless slave masses.

The vista of the future may well be described as a national battlefield in which lie millions of dead and millions of dying; in which other millions will fill the highways and byways in quest of someone who will drop a coin into their hands; in which there will be vastly multiplied the present day daily sight of wretches peering into garbage cans or pawing in the public dumps for a crust of bread.

The sufferers will be those who press upon the scene in unorganized mobs, or who have "organized" according to the Recovery Act and its agents, the craft unions and their labor fakers.

The victors in this battle of classes may be seen as an organized group, moving as one toward their goal—profit.

The working class must awaken!
The workers must organize NOW to free themselves from the yoke of capitalist wage slavery! They must organize into revolutionary Industrial Unions, and into the INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY.

The alternative at this moment is "Unity for revolution," or "Disunity and slavery." Which shall it be?

Decide NOW! A short time hence it may be too late!

C. N.

The capitalists are united INDUSTRIALLY. Go thou and do likewise!

Correspondence

To the Industrial Unionist:

Branch Brooklyn began its open air campaign with a meeting on Tuesday, June 27th, at Eastern Parkway and Utica Ave., which was extremely successful from both an educational as well as an agitational angle. The audience received our message with such keen interest that some of the bystanders made remarks to the effect that this organization has been the only one to present a constructive method for the workers to find their way out of the present miserable state of things.

The chairman of the meeting, Comrade Miss Sharon, set out to demonstrate the fact that our organization is not out for the purpose of selling people anything, as is oftentimes done by street corner speakers, but to "sell" those of the exploited class the idea that it is high time they stop dilly dallying with this outworn social order; that it is their task to organize into powerful Industrial Unions and into a revolutionary party for one set intent, to place this tottering capitalist system in the museum of antiquities alongside its ancestral social systems.

Comrade Sharon then introduced the first speaker, Comrade Louis Lazarowitz. This comrade pointed out that the majority of the working class continues to have faith in politicians, believing that sincere and honest politicians are capable of rejuvenating the system. This belief, he showed, is erroneous. Since the workers who create the nation's wealth, are robbed by the capitalists of a major portion of what they produce; and since the capitalist employs labor only when he can realize a profit, no legal enactment can terminate this robbery, nor will it compel the capitalist to extend jobs to the workers when there is no profit to be had. Comrade Lazarowitz then stated that if the workers desire to better their conditions, they cannot rely on politicians even if they claim to represent labor, but by the workers organizing into Industrial Unions, a force which will enable them to take and hold the industries of the country and thus set up a government that will function in their own interests, instead of, as today, in the interest of the parasitic capitalists.

The speaker who followed was Comrade Irving Oring. Comrade Oring then proceeded to shatter the erroneous conception still prevalent among workers that there are still opportunities in this country for workers who are diligent and earnest. He then made clear that a worker cannot rise to any financial heights today when skill and craftsmanship have been displaced by machine-fabrication. Furthermore, how can a worker aspire to become a capitalist when he must set out to compete with colossal mergers and corporations? With the class struggle furiously raging, the workers' status becomes increasingly degraded instead of better. If the workers wish to have opportunities they must abolish the system that impedes social progress and put in its place the Industrial Republic of Labor, the only system that can afford the workers an opportunity to own their own jobs.

Comrade Oring then asked for questions. The questions clearly showed that the workers were anxious to receive information about Industrial Unionism. "Industrial Unionists" were sold and leaflets were distributed. Many names were received from workers who were interested in receiving more information about our organization.

A Brooklyn Comrade.

QUESTION BOX

M. H., New York:

If prohibition is repealed it will not alter the fact that there is one class exploiting another. Consequently, the structure of society will remain as before, breeding economic insecurity, unemployment, malnutrition and the other "blessings" of capitalism. Men being unemployed and in search of their livelihood will without a doubt seek to "make money" in any shape, manner, or form; hence, the growth of gangsters and racketeers.

With a class society the political state must be supported by the capitalist class in order to subjugate the rebellious working class. The exploiters therefore, hire politicians to carry out this dirty work; their remuneration coming from the wealth stolen from the working people. Therefore the politicians attempt to obtain influence from the "loot" in any crooked

"Industrial Bill,"



Average Worker

Average Worker:—I was talking to a Communist the other day about your Industrial Union program and he said for me to ask you this question, and stump you.

Industrial Bill:—And the question is?
A. W.:—Here is the question: "Where are your Industrial Unions?" Your organization, he says, consists of a handful of men talking about Industrial Unions, but where are they? Where are these Unions?
I. B.:—Were you able to cope with the question?

A. W.:—I'm sorry that I was not. I had been defending your position and confess that for the moment I was set back and made to feel ridiculous. I was well equipped to expose the folly of parades, the burlesque of demonstrations at relief stations and the lunacy of a Dictatorship in this country but really, I felt in this case, that his question was quite to the point.

I. B.:—Let's examine it and see how much to the point his question really was. In a minute you'll see that it is about as far from the point as a mule in a mine is from being a surf bather. Had you asked him but two questions, the tables would have been turned upon him.

A. W.:—What should I have asked him?

I. B.:—When he howled "where are your Industrial Unions?" he implied, did he not, the fact that because we advocate Industrial Unionism as the only means of working class emancipation in this country, that we should right now be able to point to the existence of such Unions?

A. W.:—That's what he meant, alright.

I. B.:—As a matter of fact we can point to the existence of these Unions, but that is not the high spot of the answer. Next time you meet this eccentric, say to him "Are you a Communist?"

A. W.:—And when he says "yes"???

I. B.:—Ask him: "Where is your Communism? Have you any?"

A. W.:—(Laughing) I get it. He might be foolish enough to say that they had Communism in Russia.

I. B.:—I've heard them proclaim that they even had Socialism there but you and I both know that the government of Russia is a Dictatorship of the Proletariat—the only possible form of government where a working class numerically in the minority seizes power and has to rule over reactionary classes which they need and cannot destroy. But let's smack further to the point.

Revolutionary movements assume, as a rule, names of states of society at which they aim or claim to aim. Ridiculous though the Socialist Party may be in its concepts of Socialism, we cannot call upon them to establish their right to the use of the name by asking them how much socialism they have brought about. Neither can we call upon the Communist Party in similar fashion. While establishing a working class revolution is not in every way comparable to buying and selling over a counter, one may as well ask a man desiring to secure fishing tackle that he enter with a basket of fish or that a man desiring ammunition, to hunt big game, present himself with a rhinoceros upon his back.

A. W.:—When I see that Comic I'll make him close up like a clam.

I. B.:—Wait—you know better. Being a Comic he'll jump and want to talk about the 1905 revolution in Russia or something else impertinent.

A. W.:—I guess you're right about that and he might run down the street shouting "You're a liar" as his breed so often does.

I. B.:—Yes, as his leaders would do if insurrections ever did break out in the streets.

J. M.

method. Undoubtedly, corrupt politicians will exist whether prohibition is repealed or not.

Prohibition, corrupt politicians, racketeers are not issues for the working class movement. To abolish all the present evils, the cause must be abolished first. Therefore the issue before the workers is to organize industrially and politically for the abolition of the robber system and then with it will go unemployment, gangsters, etc.

Fallacies of Craft Unionism

(Condensed from an address)

By EMORY GRECHT

Working men and Working women:

I intend to-night to prove to you that trade unionism is bankrupt and is unworthy of any attention by the working class.

Some fifty-odd years ago the labor movement in America gave promise of developing into a true Marxian revolutionary movement. There were those who realized that if something were not done to counteract this movement, capitalism in this country would soon have to deal with a class which could not easily be cowed into submission. There were also many within the ranks of the working class who were only too ready to collaborate with the capitalists in order to steer this movement into the ground—needless to say, for their personal gain. Among these was the notorious Samuel Gompers. This infamous labor faker took it upon himself to organize, with the aid and comfort of such men as Andrew Carnegie, the American Federation of Labor, for the deliberate purpose of destroying the militant, aggressive spirit of the workers of that time.

The basic principle upon which this anti-working class union was organized was that there is no such thing as a class struggle, and, consequently capital and labor are brothers; that private property is a fixed and changeless institution. No doubt, this idea of the identity of interests between labor and capital sprang from the assumption, in the mind of the labor faker, that capital supports labor, and if capitalism were to go, then workers would have no one to support them. Suffice it to say, that it was truly a bitter moment in the history of the American labor movement when this stupid, spineless and characterless organization was foisted upon the working class.

It may not be amiss to ask ourselves why the A. F. of L. has remained small. I said at the outset that it was organized at the behest of the capitalists and by unscrupulous opportunists within the working class. The capitalist had in mind to keep the workers from having a revolutionary union, while the labor leader saw an opportunity to prey upon the capitalist by extracting graft as his reward for subduing the workers, and at the same time draw a fat salary as an official of the union. To be successful at this business of getting "corruption" at the expense of the workers, it was necessary to organize only the comparatively highly paid workers—and not all of them at that. These workers were in a position to pay the dues necessary to swell the "corporation" of a labor faker. By limiting the membership of the union, and monopolizing the skilled labor market in a given locality, they were able to demand high wages for the few who were permitted to work, without regard for what the other workers would receive. Many a worker has had the experience, when going into a shop, of being questioned whether he has a union card; and when applying for membership in the union he is asked if he has a job. Buffeted between the two, he remains unorganized.

The Contract

One of the instruments of power that the labor faker wields over the head of the workers is the sacred contract with the boss. Let the worker become restless even for a moment and he will be reminded of the sacred contract.

What are the advantages of a contract to the workers? In my estimation the contract symbolizes the control exercised over the workers by both the labor faker and the capitalist. Let me remind you that contracts are as a rule drawn up behind closed doors by bosses and labor fakers; that the workers play no part in drawing them up; and when they are ready they are usually railroaded through the union. In the event that they are not railroaded, then the labor faker holds the weapon over the bosses' head and says, "It'll cost you more to put this one over," in which case the boss will at the first opportunity retaliate by transferring his work out of town in order to beat the labor faker. Another weakness connected with the contract is, that capitalists often resign from the association and thus avoid any of the responsibilities of the contract by hiring so-called non-union men, who as a rule are men that the union will not take in because of the job-racket motive—they keep wages up for a few, and a fat income for the faker. These men are promptly called scabs for taking jobs that the union selfishly wants to control.

Still another pernicious practice is the business of signing up individual bosses in the order that they agree to come to terms with the union, and thus we see the spectacle of union men scabbing on each other in the name of a sacred contract, one group remaining on the job while the others work. I think the stupid and vicious policy of signing up bosses one at a time glaringly illustrates, better than anything else could, that a contract with the boss can only weaken the workers.

Let us see what happens if the workers are not satisfied with a contract and decide to strike. We see the spectacle today of a threatened strike in the printing industry being cancelled because the bureaucracy of the union did not sanction it. In other words, it is obvious that the right to get better terms is not a worker's right, but a right of the labor faker depending on what he can get for himself first.

Recognition of the Union

Incidentally, this brings us to the question of recognition of the Union. Obviously it is a strike for recognition of a certain labor faker to bargain for his dupes. It should be unnecessary to ask that of the boss. It would be more in order and far more sensible to ask all of the workers concerned to recognize the union and then by sheer virtue of working class solidarity the boss would not only be compelled to recognize the union, but more important, he would be dealing with a power which would be beyond his control and the control of the labor faker.

Obviously, we can already see what the collapse of capitalism is doing to the craft union. For one thing, we see a tremendous decline in membership. Most of those who still belong to it are unemployed, remaining only in the vain hope of finding a job, or else they expect a free burial or cemetery plot, and do not wish to surrender their standing for fear of losing that questionable advantage. In other words, the craft union, in being unable to gain anything by strikes or otherwise, has degenerated to the status of competition with the benevolent societies. This is the penalty of the unionism that divides the workers against their own best interest. Strikes are only an incident in labor's march to emancipation, and any attempt to characterize them as anything else is to confuse the minds of the workers and deny the essential truth of the class struggle.

Industrial Unions

This brings me to the question of Industrial Unionism. I have tried to show you that the trade union is basically a job-racket; that it is controlled from the top by a callous bureaucracy; that strikes are sanctioned by it for the purpose of controlling them; that the union engages constantly in guerilla warfare; that it draws up contracts to the detriment of the workers' best interest; that in the collapse of capitalism it is losing its membership by leaps and bounds, and that today it serves only as a burial society. Industrial Unionism must and will supplant it as the only force capable of dealing with the capitalist class.

Industrial Unionism will create no job trust but will organize all the workers. Industrial Unionism will be controlled by the workers themselves, and not by a bureaucracy on top. A strike by an Industrial Union will not need the sanction of anyone but the workers involved. Industrial Unions, by virtue of the fact that they exclude no workers, will indulge in no useless guerilla battles. Industrial Unions will make no contracts because they will not be bound by coercive agreements. The fall of capitalism must find them ready to carry on production for the good of society as a whole. We may look forward with hope to the goal of the working class, Socialism, via Industrial Unionism and political action.

RENEW YOUR "SUB" NOW

You cannot afford to miss one issue of the "Industrial Unionist" in these stirring times.

MAX MASON, Bus. Mgr.

MEN WANTED

A characteristic of unionism in this country has been that the workers will flock to be organized when they are on the verge of actual conflict with the capitalist class (as at the impending declaration of a strike), and as soon as the trouble is over, they will drop from the union until such time as they believe they again require it.

This attitude on the part of the workers is a sign that they have as yet failed to realize the dimensions of the struggle in which they are engaged; that they have failed to see that a strike is but one battle in a long war, and that it is therefore essential that their forces remain marshalled until the enemy is crushed for all time.

Let us imagine what would have happened to the soldiers of a military army who, after winning a little affray, would disband, throw their guns into a ditch, and start straggling home, while the enemy remained organized, armed, and prepared to make further encroachments on their territory. The picture is obvious.

Though the workers are in a similar position, they fail to see the necessity of continued organization. Generally they feel that by having won or lost a particular engagement with a local capitalist they have accomplished all that the occasion calls for.

This is a grave error. The enemy of the working class is the capitalist class, locally, nationally, internationally. Even though the workers in a particular strike have been victorious, the capitalist class throughout the world is operating through its economic and political organizations to take ever-larger chunks of the products of labor away from working class. This can be seen plainly in the development of recent events.

A number of strikes lately have resulted in some workers winning increases in wages. The victories have been won at great effort and sacrifice by those who engaged in the struggles. At the same time, while the workers were making these local attempts at increased wages, the national and international capitalist class was occupied in its various legislative chambers and conferences, in taking steps to raise commodity prices so that not only would the winnings of the workers, through their strikes, be wiped out, but the capitalist class would succeed in paying actual wages below those which the workers received before they went on strike.

Plainly, the struggle with the capitalists exceeds the bounds of a local struggle. The workers must realize that the enemy is organized, alert to its interests, and aggressive in behalf of them. They must realize that the capitalist class maintains its Chambers of Commerce, its manufacturers' associations, its political institutions, PERMANENTLY.

The workers must quickly realize that they must organize; that they must organize properly; that they must organize PERMANENTLY.

A long march confronts the workers before they can achieve victory. It is a march that will call forth every bit of manhood that resides in them. The battle calls for MEN. Workers, be MEN! Organize with the determinations to fight it out until the capitalist system is smashed and the Industrial Republic established.

C. N.

To a Die-Hard Technocrat

(Continued from page 2)

forced to call upon the outside world for technical assistance in order to perpetrate reproductions of factories already obsolescent from an obsolescent price system."

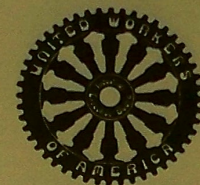
Surely technologists should have no cause to complain in this instance. Never have they had freer hand than in Russia. Confessing its complete ignorance of modern industrial construction and processes, the Soviet government permitted American engineering talent to install the most advanced plant equipment. Surely, if technologists have failed in this minor effort, what success can be anticipated in a major task such as constructing and operating a complete new social order on the scale required for America.

The Technocrats have stricken lines through Capitalism, Socialism and Communism in its list of possible future systems. Perhaps Technocracy should be added to the list. Perhaps the bar that runs through it should be one that has been removed from one of the others.

Yours truly,

"Industrial Unionist."

UNITED WORKERS of America



Headquarters:

Nordic Temple, Jamestown, N. Y.

BRANCH MEETINGS U. W. of A.

Jamestown, N. Y.
Industrial Mixed Branch No. 1, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at the Nordic Temple.

Metal Industrial Branch No. 1, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at the Nordic Temple.

ERIF. PA.

Industrial Mixed Branch No. 2 meets every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m. at 133 East 23rd St., Erie, Pa. Secretary, Lloyd W. Robertson, 6607 East 25th St., Erie, Pa.

WARREN, Pa.—Mixed Union No. 3 meets every 1st and 3rd Monday of the month at S. O. of A. Hall, East 2nd St., Warren, Pa.

The Industrial Executive Board meets every Saturday at 7 p. m. at the Nordic Temple, Jamestown, N. Y.

I. U. P. Notices

OPEN AIR MEETINGS Branch Brooklyn

Tuesday evenings—at Eastern Parkway and Utica Avenue.
Saturday evenings—at Eastern Parkway and Nostrand Avenue.

SCHEDULE OF OPEN AIR MEETINGS BRANCH BRONX FOR MONTH OF AUGUST

Mondays

August 7—158th St. & Willis Ave.
August 14—181 St. & Wadsworth Ave.
August 21—Cramers Sq. & Hunts Point.
August 28—Fordham Rd. & Valentine Ave.

Tuesdays

August 1, 8, 15, 22, 29—Fordham Rd. & Walton Avenue.

Wednesdays

August 2, 9, 16, 23, 30—Tremont Avenue & Prospect Avenue.

Thursdays

August 2—Burnside & Walton Avenues.
August 9—167th St. & Gerard Ave.
August 16—161st St. & Prospect Ave.
August 23—Tremont & Washington Ave.
August 30—161st St. & Prospect Ave.

Fridays

August 4—174th St. & Hoe Avenue.

Saturdays

August 5—96th St. & Broadway.
August 12—72nd St. & Broadway.
August 19—125th St. & 5th Avenue.
August 26—86th St. & Lexington Avenue.
Saturdays—Noonday, 1 O'clock P. M.
August 5—40th St. & 6th Avenue.
August 12—23rd St. & Madison Square.
August 19—40th St. & 6th Avenue.
August 26—148th St. & Willis Avenue.

LECTURE Branch Bronx

Friday, August 18th, at 8 p. m.
"The Only New Deal That Counts"
Speaker: Adolph Silver, Candidate of the I.U.P. for Mayor of N. Y. C.
At Br. Bronx Headquarters, 1032 Prospect Avenue—Admission Free.

BRANCH MEETINGS

AKRON, O.—For information write William Mullen, 2166 Eighth Street, Kenmore District, Akron, O.

BRONX, N. Y. City—Business meetings 2nd and 4th Fridays of each month; discussion meetings on remaining Fridays of the month, at 8 p. m. Headquarters, 1032 Prospect Ave.

BROOKLYN, N. Y. City—For information write A. Person, 88 Fourth Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y., Phone, Triangle 5-3189.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y.—Meets every Friday evening at 8 p. m. in United Workers Hall, Nordic Temple Bldg. Everybody Welcome.